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P-Hochhuth, ROTT  
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 CIA-4-US  
 the world looks  
 at the U.S.A.

## AS 'THE GUERRILLAS' SET FIRE TO AMERICA...

*A German playwright depicts  
 a coup d'état in the U.S.*



Translated from DIE WELTWOCH, Zürich

Rolf Hochhuth seems determined to prove that "all idols have clay feet." In *The Deputy*, he portrayed Pope Pius XII as an accomplice of Hitler. In *The Soldiers* he let go at Winston Churchill. In his new play, *The Guerrillas*, he takes on the U.S.A., which is supposed to have "the most perfect police apparatus in history." He emphasizes that his drama, marked by the assassination of an idealistic senator by the C.I.A., is "not anti-American." Before its recent opening in Germany, the play was discussed in this interview with Hochhuth by Reinhardt Stumm, editor of Basel's *Nachrichten* and publisher of the Swiss *Theater-Zeitung*.

REINHARDT STUMM: Herr Hochhuth, what is *Guerrillas* about?

ROLF HOCHHUTH: The play depicts preparations for a coup d'état in the U.S. For it is only in the centers of power, only in the U.S. or in the U.S.S.R., not in the highly industrialized satellites like West Germany or Czechoslovakia, that revolutions have favorable prospects—only when the revolutionaries infiltrate the state apparatus.

The people who really have a chance to pull off a coup d'état are not the street demonstrators, who can be beaten up or deported to Siberia, but the infiltrators who are willing to wear the strait-jacket of officer, civil servant or parliamentarian for years in order to attain the levers of power. These guerrillas put into practice on the stage what Luttwak recommends in his famous handbook. The coup d'état—the least bloody type of revolt, which

can avoid the massacre of civil war—is supposed to overthrow the U.S. plutocratic oligarchy, the club of 120 families who own over 85 percent of the people's wealth and to whom the two indistinguishable political parties and one of the few remaining dailies in New York, the *Times*, are subservient. The U.S. is the one civilized land in the world where no labor party to date has even been able to put up a candidate for election to the House of Representatives! Over a fourth of the population lives below the official "poverty line," while in 1968 forty times more money was spent on armaments—that is, for industry—than on the poor. "True theory must be developed in the context of concrete conditions and existing situations," said Marx, and that is what I tried to do in *Guerrillas*.

R.S.: You use Marx without being a Marxist, if I understand rightly your *Spiegel* article "Class

Warfare Is Not Over." Why are your guerrillas Marxists?

R.H.: They aren't. In his system, Marx did not work out the problem of the opposition. Not the least aspect of my guerrillas' fight is the absence of an opposition in the U.S. Both parties represent only the interests of the establishment.

R.S.: The student Left in Germany acknowledges only those systems of thought which are built along Marxist lines. To that extent, your play should have little success in those circles.

R.H.: Marx claimed that ownership is the root of oppression, but actually the means of oppression is power. If the state has sole ownership, it has total power. And super-power is always fascistic. What Marx wrote about capitalism is not false but merely one-sided. It was not as a capitalist that Truman dropped the atom bomb or as a monarchist or a Nazi that Wilhelm II and Hitler wanted to grab the Ukraine; it was not as a Communist that Stalin had Lenin's fellow-fighters murdered. The super-power is the immoral element, regardless of what flag it sails under. Super-powers can be humanized only by being weakened—divide and liberate! Every state has a degree of decency corresponding to its degree of fear.

R.S.: In *Guerrillas* you develop a